A

LETTER

Humbly addreſt

To the moſt Excellent Father of his Country,

THE

Wiſe and Victorious Prince,

King William III.

By a dutiful and well-meaning Subject.

LONDON,

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LETTER

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to the most Excellent Prince

of his Country,

Wise and Victorious Prince,

King William III.

SIR,

A Well-meaning and dutiful Subject humbly begs your Majesty to read this Letter, which is written with no other design but only to set before you,

I. What was the antient Foundation of the English Monarchy.

II. How it was remov'd from off its natural Foundation.

III. By what Expedients it has bin supported since that Removal.

IV. By what Expedient your Majesty may support the Monarchy during your Reign (which I pray God may be long and happy) and also raise it to as high a degree of Glory as ever it has attain'd heretofore.

I. The Monarchy of *England* was setled upon an over balance of Lands vested in the King, the Nobility, and the Church, who antiently possess'd above two thirds of the whole English Territory: But the Noble-men held their Lands

upon condition, that they ſhould aſſiſt the King upon all his Occaſions with certain Quotas of Men well arm'd and paid: And then theſe Noblemen let out their Lands to their Tenants upon condition that they ſhould always be ready to follow their reſpective Lords to the War as often as the King ſhould have any occaſion for their Service. So that very ſmall Rents were demanded by the Lord from the Tenants, becauſe he had contracted for their Perſonal Service.

'Twas this diſpoſition of Lands which enabled our former Kings to raiſe great Armies when they pleas'd, and to invade *France* (their natural Enemy) with ſucceſs: and hereby it was that the Nobility upheld the Grandure of the King at home as well as abroad; and at the ſame time they were a ſhelter and defence to the common People, if the King were inclin'd to make any Incroachments upon them. For the over-balance of Propriety (and conſequently their greateſt natural Power) was veſted in the middle ſtate of Nobility; who were therefore able to preſerve both King and People in their due bounds.

Thus

Thus the Engliſh Monarchy ſtood upon a natural Foundation, the King being the great Landlord of his People, who were all bound by their Tenures (in ſubordination to one another) to ſupport his Crown and Dignity.

II. This antient Foundation of the Engliſh Monarchy was ſap'd and undermined by K. *Henry* the Seventh, who (having ſeen the Imperial Crown of *England* diſpos'd of at the pleaſure of the Lords who had maintain'd a War againſt the Crown for near 400 years) could not but be much concern'd at the over-grown Power of the Peers, who ſometimes would pull down and ſet up what King they pleas'd; and this Conſideration made K. *Henry* the Seventh ſeek after ways and means how to leſſen the Power of the Lords, which had bin ſo prejudicial to the Crown: and ſeeing that their over grown Power was ſupported by the great Territories of Land of which they were poſſeſs'd, and which they could not alienate from their Heirs, He by the help of his Parliament found out a way to change the Tenure of Lands in ſuch a manner that the Tenant ſhould be oblig'd only to pay a Rent inſtead of Perſonal Service

to

to his Landlord: and also a way was found out for the Lords to alienate their Lands from their Posterity. This was done to the end that the Lords might be encourag'd by an expensive way of living to sell their Lands, and that the Commons who liv'd thriftily might be enabled to purchase them. Hereby it came to pass that at the end of King *Henry* the Eighth's Reign (in whose time most part of the Church-Lands were also sold to the People) the common People of *England* had near two thirds of the Lands of *England* in their proper Possession, and the King, Lords, and Church little more than one third part; whereby the Balance was turn'd on the side of the Commons, who were therefore able to make War upon the King, Lords and Church together, as appear'd afterwards in the Reign of King *Charles* the First.

Thus it appears that the antient Foundation of the English Monarchy was remov'd in the Reign of K. *Henry* the Seventh; and the overbalance of Lands falling from the Lords to the Commons, 'tis evident that the Monarchy has ever since stood, not upon an Aristocratical, but a Popular Foundation; and such a Foundation dos naturally support none but Com-

mon-

monwealth Forms of Government. Wherefore a Monarchy supported on such a Foundation may properly be call'd a Government of Expedients, because it is by Expedients and Inventions, and not upon any bottom of its own that it subsists. Now what Expedients our Kings have us'd to support the Monarchy is the next thing to be consider'd. Wherefore

III. The Balance of Lands being chang'd by the end of K. *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, from the Lords and Church to the Commons of *England*, 'tis past all doubt but that Queen *Elizabeth* discover'd the popular bottom of the Monarchy, because she found out the only wise Expedient by which the Monarchy upon its new Foundation was capable of being supported in its antient Lustre and Glory. Her Expedient was her Popularity, by which she accommodated her personal Administration to the true Genius of the Monarchical Constitution, as it then stood. For the whole Reign of that Queen (of Glorious Memory) tho long (but not tedious) was past over in a constant Courtship to her People, in which

not

not only all her Actions, but ſometimes her very Words expreſſed her knowledg, that the Monarchy was then founded on their Affections. In what Glory ſhe ſupported her ſelf and the Engliſh Monarchy by that Expedient of Popularity, notwithſtanding very great Oppoſitions from the preeminent Powers of *Europe*, her Hiſtory do's ſufficiently explain.

King *James* the Firſt was not in his nature inclin'd to perſue this honourable and proper Expedient, but his thoughts ſeem'd to be ſet upon his own Power more than upon his Peoples Good; whereby it came to paſs that the Flattery of the Court was more pleaſing to him than the general Intereſt of his Kingdom. And having gotten ſome ſuperficial skill in the Arts and Sciences, and a profound knowledg (as he thought) in Theology, he made his Court to the Divines of the Church of *England*, that they being appriz'd of his great Learning might in their Writings celebrate his Fame, and inſinuate to the People his great Knowledg in all ſorts of Divine and Human Learning. Hereupon at his firſt coming to the Crown of *England* he induſtriouſly aſſiſted the Biſhops and Church-Party againſt the Puritans; whom the

Church

Church look'd upon as no leſs than her Enemies, becauſe tho they could endure, yet they did not admire her Biſhops and Ceremonies. And in this manner that King found out his Expedient in the Church-party, which admir'd and almoſt ador'd his deep Learning, oftentimes comparing him to King *Solomon* for Wiſdom, and indeed omitted no opportunity which might gain him an extraordinary Reverence among the People.

'Tis not then to be wonder'd at that King *Charles* the Firſt trod in the ſteps of his Father, and perſued the ſame Expedient which had been ſucceſsful to his Father, eſpecially having derived from him the ſame Temper of Mind, and being well pleas'd to have for his Flatterers the graveſt of Divines; whoſe Courtſhip ever tended to aggrandize the King by enlarging the Royal Prerogative, and to ſet it above the Laws of the Realm, by virtue of ſome political Doctrines which they drew from the Word of God. From hence ſprang the Divine Right by which thoſe Kings were ſaid to reign over us, and a Divine Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* was derived to their Poſterity. But yet King *Charles* the Firſt laid too

great a weight upon this Expedient, and encouraged it too much, even when the People began to be ſenſible that the Pulpit-Law did build the Kings Prerogative upon the Ruins of the People's Liberty: And herewith began the quarrel of the People againſt that King, in which he loſt his Life; and the Monarchy, loſing its Expedient of the Church party, was likewiſe overthrown.

After this an Eſſay was made to introduce a Commonwealth-form of Government, but it was interrupted by a Standing Army, which with their arbitrary and uncertain ways of Adminiſtration at laſt tir'd out the People, that they reſtor'd the Monarchy in the Perſon of King *Charles* the Second; who being the Son of the Royal Martyr, was intitled to all that Aſſiſtance which the Church was capable of giving: and there was one thing more which made the Church-men exert all their Powers with the greateſt vigor in favour of their reſtor'd King, which was this.

The Clergy and their Party having bin ill treated ſince the downfal of King *Charles* the Firſt, and being again reſtor'd with *Charles* the Second to their former Dignities, they were highly

ly animated againſt the Presbyterians, by whom they had bin provoked in the late *Interregnum*, ſo that nothing was more in their Deſires than to be avenged of their Enemies; and this Maſter-paſſion of theirs was ſo well gratified by their King, who granted ſevere Laws againſt all Diſſenters from the Church, that no Prince ever gain'd the Hearts of the Clergy and their whole Party more entirely to his Intereſt than *Charles* the Second. No Vice or Lewdneſs could ſtain the Reputation of the Martyr's Son; but tho he were the greateſt Encourager of all Profaneneſs and Immorality in the moſt open manner, yet ſtill he was our moſt Religious and Gracious King. In his time all Atheiſts, Debauchees and looſe Perſons own'd the Church of *England* for their Mother; which numerous Party enlarging the Pale of the Church, aſſiſted very much to advance the Power of the King upon the foundation of a Divine Right, which it was ſaid God had given him: ſo that the univerſal Acclamation was, *viz.* Great is *Diana* of the *Epheſians*, and great is the *Jure divino* King, the Image which fell down from *Jupiter!*

But notwithſtanding this loud Acclamation, the cautious King, who in his Youth had bin

forc'd to travel into foreign Countries, and was unwilling to take ſuch another Journey, did not think fit to rely wholly upon this Church-Expedient, but to give it greater ſtrength he twiſted into it a Court-party, who by their Places and Penſions were oblig'd to aſſiſt his Royal Pleaſure by their Votes in both Houſes of Parliament: and thus the Monarchy had its Foundation laid in Place and Penſion, which by angry People is call'd *BRIBERY.* But let that be as it will, 'tis certain that Men can never act ſo vigorouſly for a Bribe, as out of mere Inclination. Beſides this, mercenary Men are ſoon diſcover'd in their Deſigns, and the diſcovery of their Principle forfeits all their Credit with the People. So that a ſmall ſteady Country Party in Parliament were a great clog upon the Projects of Church and Court, which, tho ſo cloſely united together, prov'd but a lame Expedient to ſupport the Monarchy in the Perſon of King *Charles* the Second; ſo that between theſe two ſtools he fell at laſt to the ground, but not without thoughts of the only Expedient by which he might (had he liv'd) have eſtabliſh'd himſelf upon the foundation of the People of *England.*

King

King *James* the Second would not truſt to any of the fore-mention'd Expedients, becauſe none of them could be ſufficient to carry him thro all his Deſigns, eſpecially thro that of introducing Popery. Nothing leſs than a ſtanding Army could ſupport his Tyranny, but Popery was too great a weight for the Army to ſtand under: So that whilſt he was ſubduing the people to Popery by a Proteſtant Army, he loſt both People and Army; in conſequence whereof he was loſt himſelf. And that the loſs of him may by means of your Majeſty's happy Reign be a Gain to *England*, it is to be conſider'd,

IV. By what Expedient your Majeſty may ſupport the Engliſh Monarchy during your Reign, and by which you may raiſe it to as eminent a degree of Glory as it hath ever attain'd heretofore.

Your Majeſty may remember that the original foundation of the Monarchy was the great Territory of Land poſſeſſed by the King: but your Majeſty is alſo ſenſible that there are but very ſmall Remainders of this Territory in your preſent Poſſeſſion; even the very accidental additions of Lands to the Crown have bin alie-

nated

nated to the Favorites of the Scotiſh Line: So that there is need of an Expedient now as much as ever for the ſupport of the Monarchy.

Be pleas'd therefore to review the Expedients of former Princes, and ſee if any of them be ſutable to your particular Circumſtances, or proper for your Majeſty to depend upon for the Support and Glory of your Throne. And,

As for the Church-party, which was the darling Support of the Scotiſh Line, it is ſo much worn out by a Succeſſion of three Kings, that 'tis very weak and feeble at preſent. The Craft of the Prieſt, which conſiſts in framing ſuch Interpretations of holy Scripture as ſerve an indirect Intereſt, was never diſcover'd ſo much as of late; and no Perſon has ſo much contributed to the diſcovery hereof as your own ſelf; who by the Revolution you have lately made have revers'd all the Political Divinity which the Clergy have bin propagating ſince the Reign of King *James* the Firſt. 'Twas the Church-Clergy and Party who by their preaching and voting oppos'd the Bill for excluding *James* D. of *York*, a known Papiſt: 'Twas this Party who impos'd upon the Nation the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience to a Tyrannical King

King upon pain of eternal Damnation: They always avow'd the divine right of a Lineal Succeſſion to the Crown (by which your Majeſty is excluded) and that all Kings are of God's (not the Peoples) making. From theſe Principles ſome of 'em openly refus'd to ſwear Allegiance to your Majeſty; and thoſe of 'em who yield a paſſive Conformity to your Title and Government, have bin found in ſeveral differing ſtories about the ways and means whereby they ſatisfy their Conſciences in this matter. Some have alledg'd, that your Majeſty having conquer'd us, they may lawfully ſubmit to a Uſurpation which cannot be avoided, and is ſetled by Succeſs: but all of 'em know that your Majeſty can make Biſhops and Deans *de facto*, and therefore they will not queſtion the Defactoſhip of your Prerogative Royal. But it cannot be expected that the Clergy, who have uſually requir'd the Peoples ſubmiſſion to their Sentiments under the pain of Damnation, ſhould upon this Revolution be contented to cry *peccavi*, and openly recant all their former Doctrines of divine Polity by a hearty active conformity to your Majeſty's rightful Title and Government. For this reaſon it is you have

receiv'd

receiv'd ſo little reſpect from the body of the Clergy, altho we have receiv'd all that we enjoy from you.

But yet ſuppoſe the Church were willing to exert it ſelf in your Service, its Influence is not at preſent ſo powerful as it has bin: for by medling ſo much in State-Affairs ſhe has loſt (in great meaſure) her former Reputation: Nor has ſhe ne're ſo numerous a Party as formerly ſhe had: for all the Deiſts, Socinians, and Latitudinarians own no ſuch Church-power at all. The Presbyterians, Independents, Baptiſts, and Quakers, tho they have their ſeveral forms of Church-Government, yet are no friends to that publickly eſtabliſh'd, but they are unfeigned lovers of your Majeſty. Bigotry likewiſe has lately ſuffer'd a great diminution, and Incredulity is ſtrangely increas'd, and almoſt become faſhionable. Thus the Authority of the Church is forc'd to ſubmit to the Reaſon of Mankind; and all thoſe who are dutiful to your Majeſty are averſe to the Homilies of the Church, becauſe they exclude you from all pretence of Right to the Crown you wear: So that the Toleration granted by your Majeſty has done you more Service than Uniformity can ever do.

As

As for the Court-party 'twas never eſteem'd to be any more than an Auxiliary to the Church for the ſupport of K. *Charles* II. in whoſe Reign too it was diſcover'd, that after a Catalogue of Court-Penſioners was publiſh'd from the Preſs, the Complexion of his Parliaments was very much changed. And if at any time ſuch a Liſt ſhould be printed, the People of *England* would refuſe to give their Votes for them in the next Election of a Parliament, and in their ſtead will elect Members of a contrary temper: People commonly run out of one Extreme into another; and when they reject a Courtier, they will probably chooſe a moroſe-humour'd Man in his place.

It muſt be allow'd that it has the face of a politic Expedient to adopt Men of known Integrity and Love to their Country into the Court-party; for hereby the Hearts of the People will be for the preſent gain'd to the Court: tho theſe Patriots being endued with a ductile temper, will ſoon become conformable to the nature of the Court. This very Expedient has for a time done good Service to your Majeſty's Affairs both at home and abroad. But I think it ought to be conſidered only as a Cordial which for a ſhort

time may revive a languiſhing Man's Spirit, but yet ought not to be depended upon as a conſtant ſupport of Life. And as for theſe new Whig-Courtiers, they will raiſe the Expectations of all Men to hope for a ſteady virtuous Adminiſtration. But when this reputed Patriot ſhall accommodate his Diſcourſe to the old ſtyle of the Court; when he ſhall inſinuate ſuch Notions to his old Acquaintance, the baſeneſs and unworthineſs whereof his old Friends had heard him frequently deteſt all his days in which he was unprefer'd; this new Courtier ſoon loſes all his Credit and Intereſt with his old Friends, who refuſe to follow the Decoy Duck into the Net.

But this is not all the miſchief which attends this Project of a Whig-Courtier, but a perſonal loſs of your own Reputation is actually the Conſequence hereof: for as long as the Court was made up of Tories, the People were willing to excuſe your Majeſty, and lay the faults of Maleadminiſtration upon the Tory-Court, ſaying, That the old Tools would ſtill do no other than the old Work. But when a Man of known Honour, Integrity and Love to his Country, upon getting a Preferment ſhall change his former Note,

Note, do Violence to himſelf by changing his avowed Principle, and thereby loſing all the Reputation which his former Virtue had gain'd him, every Man will be apt to conclude that this new Courtier is encourag'd to do this by ſome higher Power, if not engag'd thereto by the fear of loſing his Place or Penſion. And when the People of *England* ſhall come to know that as ſurely as a Land-man who is imploy'd at Sea will turn Seaman, ſo certainly will a Patriot imploy'd in the Adminiſtration turn Courtier, they will begin in earneſt to think of ſuch a Form of Government which can ſubſiſt without a Court.

And having ſaid this, I cannot forbear telling your Majeſty my Thoughts concerning a Commonwealth Party which has bin much talk'd of in *England* during the Reign of *K. Charles* the Second, and has not quite bin forgotten at any time ſince that Reign.

A great Veneration for Monarchy has bin frequently made uſe of by Men to recommend themſelves to the particular favor of our Kings of *England*; and when real occaſions have bin wanting to recommend their Affection for Monarchy to the notice of the King, a mere fan-

taſtical imaginary fear of a Commonwealth has bin made uſe of: and hence they have bin perſwading our Sovereign Princes that a great number of their Subjects have form'd themſelves upon Commonwealth Principles, and are ſtill waiting an opportunity to extirpate the Monarchy, and to introduce into its place a Republican form of Government. But your Majeſty has ſeen this fantaſtical Opinion ſufficiently confuted: For thoſe who were the ſuſpected Commonwealths-men join'd heartily together in preſerving the Monarchy, by voting your Majeſty (then P. of *Orange*) into the Engliſh Throne, in oppoſition to thoſe Adorers of Monarchy who were ſetting up a Regency; who had they put the Kingly Power into the hands of a Committee, had founded a Commonwealth, or ſomething very hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from it. But to proceed from matter of Fact, to reaſon freely upon this matter. I cannot ſuppoſe that any Man who has the uſe of his Reaſon, and liveth under a Monarchy, ſhould be fond of a Commonwealth, if all the ends of Government are anſwer'd by the ſettled Monarchy. So in *Holland* he would be thought to have loſt the uſe of his Reaſon who

ſhould

ſhould hazard his Life by endeavouring to introduce a Monarchy there, where all the ends of Government are perfectly anſwer'd by the eſtabliſh'd form of a Commonwealth. The end of all Governments is the common good of the People; and if that great End be attained under any eſtabliſh'd Form, he is fit only for a Mad-houſe who will endeavour to pull down the eſtabliſhed form only to introduce a new one: And a party of ſuch mad men as theſe can never be ſufficient to raiſe a jealouſy in any Government which is under an upright Adminiſtration. Tho it muſt alſo be acknowledged, that as corrupt Prelats make way for a Presbyterian Government into the Church, ſo a corrupt Court-party may occaſionally introduce a Republican form of Government into the State. But to return from this Digreſſion, ſince Prieſt-craft and Court-craft have bin (of late) ſo much diſcover'd; ſince Bigotry of late days is grown out of requeſt; ſince the unbigotted People are more dutiful to your Majeſty than the Bigots are; and ſince the common People of *England* are more firm and truſty than a Court-party, I cannot but think that

A *Real Popularity* would be a better Expedient than a Church and Court party join'd together can be: for as to the Expedient of a *Standing Army*, 'tis certain, that beſides its own intrinſic inſufficiency, *Lewis* the preſent French King, and *James* the laſt of *England*, have render'd it odious. It ſtinks in the Noſtrils of all free-born Men, and can only be an Expedient to ſet up a Commonwealth. But 'tis plain that

A profeſſed regard to the Common-weal of the People of *England* ſteddily perſu'd did raiſe the Engliſh Monarchy under the Adminiſtration of Q. *Elizabeth* (of bleſſed memory) to as high a degree of Glory as it did ever attain to when it ſtood upon its natural Foundation. Nor is any Expedient ſo proper for your Majeſty to uſe as this. For,

1. Upon this Foundation the Glory of your Illuſtrious Anceſtors was built. And,

2. Hereby your Majeſty was recommended to the juſt and rightful poſſeſſion of the Crown which at preſent you adorn. Party-taking, Party-making, or Partiality of all ſorts overthrew King *Charles* the Firſt, ſhook the Throne of King *Charles* the Second, and overturn'd the Monarchy under the Adminiſtration of the late King

King *James*, which by your Majeſty's Affection to the People of *England* was reſtor'd, and by the ſame means is ſtill preſerv'd, and may be advanc'd to as high a pitch of Glory as ever heretofore it had gain'd. For hereby,

1. All the true ends of Government will be fully anſwered.

2. All Factions and Parties will be ſunk and forgotten: there will be no Whig nor Tory, no Jacobite, no Church-party, Court-party, nor Country-party: for the Intereſt of Court and Country will be one and the ſame, which has not been known ſince the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and therefore will be wonderfully pleaſing for its Novelty, as well as for its Profitableneſs.

3. Virtue and Honeſty (which have bin much decay'd of late years) will be encourag'd and reſtor'd. For no Man can pretend to recommend himſelf to your Royal Favour but by advancing the Deſign which your Majeſty openly does encourage.

4. Hereby your Majeſty will gain ſuch a Credit with your People, as by virtue thereof very much to increaſe the Wealth and Strength of the Nation in a ſhort time. And your Majeſty's

Majeſty's Revenue muſt neceſſarily bear a ſuitable proportion to the Trade of your Subjects; ſo that he who commands the Trade of the World, will conſequently command the Wealth of the World. And,

5. Hereby you may be able to follow the two great Maxims of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, which were,

1*ſt.* To be the Head of the Proteſtants all over the World. And,

2*dly.* To keep the Balance of *Europe* equal and ſteddy.

And thus the Glory of the Engliſh Monarchy under your Majeſty's gracious Adminiſtration will be the Terror of others, and the Delight of all Engliſh People, which is the ſincere deſire of

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful, dutiful,

and humble Subject and Servant.

THE END.

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